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ABSTRACT

Labor activists and sympathetic scholars have long been critical of the anti-labor bias found in what they term the "hired press." Research generally supports these labor movement perceptions; studies of media coverage of industrial conflict have consistently found that the media cover these struggles through frames that delegitimize the labor movement. Accordingly, a study analyzed the portrayal of labor in reporting textbooks, hypothesizing that the persistent pattern of neglect and distorted coverage found by previous scholars may result from the news values, sourcing practices, and expectations inculcated through academic journalism programs and reporting textbooks. A thorough examination of nine reporting texts and accompanying workbooks documented every reference to labor and unions, its context and nature. In addition, three advanced reporting texts were examined to see if the anti-labor biases present in most basic reporting texts persisted. Findings suggest that, according to these textbooks, the labor movement is simply not important. Unlike businessmen, local politicians, and police, it does not meet "official" criteria for newsworthiness. Patterns of thinking taught in journalism programs and enforced in news organizations are reflected in textbooks which inculcate values--an ideology of news--which must inevitably affect students' performance as journalists, their sense of what is news, whose perspectives are important, and which stories should be told. (Two tables are included. Table 2 lists the textbooks analyzed; 41 notes are also included.) (NKA)

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The Portrayal of Labor in Reporting Textbooks:

Critical Absences, Hostile Voices

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(AEJMC Qualitative Studies Division, 1994)

Labor activists and sympathetic scholars have long been critical of the anti-labor bias found in what they termed the "hired press." From its earliest days, the labor movement has been certain that hostile press coverage undermined its chances for broader support. Chicago English-language dailies in the 1870s, for example, were uniformly hostile to strikes, picketing, class-based politics and labor methods generally. Even relatively sympathetic journalists such as Henry Demarest Lloyd denounced strikes and trade unions in the pages of the Chicago Tribune, while calling for a more fair distribution of "the fruits of human labor."[1] The New York Times' one-sided coverage of labor disputes in the 1870s and 1880s has been richly documented.[2] In the 1920s, Upton Sinclair concluded that "whenever it comes to a 'show-down' between labor and capital, the press is openly or secretly for capital."[3] And a 1947 study noted that "labor stories and editorials are written too often with hysteria rather than reason," attributing newspapers' biased coverage to ignorance, incompetence, lazy journalism and fear of retaliation by advertisers.[4]

In the late 1970s and 1980s the labor movement began devoting increasing attention to its public image. The AFL-CIO's director of public relations criticized labor reporting as ill-informed, one-sided, cliched, fixated on media stars, and generally incompetent.[5] In 1980, and again in 1981, the International Association of Machinists organized a detailed content analysis of network television's news and entertainment depiction of workers and unions, finding that television depicted unions as "violent, degrading and obstructive."[6] And the United Auto Workers published a special issue of its UAW Ammo magazine encouraging its members to protest unfair coverage and aggressively putting forward their message. The U.A.W. pointed to a Los Angeles Times survey that found that editors overwhelmingly

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backed business in labor disputes, and were far more conservative on economic issues than were most Americans. A UAW survey of editorial policies found that newspapers overwhelmingly opposed the labor movement on issues such as increasing the minimum wage and requiring employers to provide health insurance for their workers.[7] More recently, labor educator William Puette's critique of media coverage of the labor movement has been warmly received by many in the labor movement despite serious methodological and conceptual flaws.[8]

There is much research to support these labor movement perceptions. Studies of media coverage of industrial conflict, for example, have consistently found that the media cover these struggles through frames that delegitimize the labor movement. Labor reporters typically focus on the inconvenience strikes cause for consumers (and upon strikes themselves, ignoring other labor activities), see wage disputes rather than health and safety and similar issues, and implicitly accept management claims as more legitimate (typified by the formula "labor demands, management offers"). Media outlets systematically ignore labor news, while devoting extensive attention and space to corporate activities and views. Walter Lippman's 1922 critique rings even truer today. Labor disputes are rarely covered, the world of work even less so, and the resulting picture is at best distorted:

> If you study the way many a strike is reported in the press, you will find very often that the issues are rarely in the headlines, barely in the leading paragraphs, and sometimes not even mentioned anywhere.[9]

Increasingly labor is ignored altogether. Although most U.S. newspapers publish a business section, few employ even one full-time labor reporter. When striking coal miners occupied a Virginia coal-processing plant in September 1989, the story was not covered by the New York Times or the three major television networks, and rated just one sentence in USA Today. In contrast, the Soviet miners' strike a few months before got extensive coverage, including interviews with striking miners and an ABC segment contrasting the living standards of Soviet bosses and coal miners.[10]

Similarly, a detailed study of television news coverage of the 1977-78 U.S. coal miners' strike

found that while the networks aired images of angry miners throughout the dispute, they rarely reported why miners were upset or what they wanted. CBS, for example, closely followed the rituals of objectivity, giving roughly as much time to miners and their union as to the coal operators association and the government (though in part this represented a strategic decision by operators to maintain a low public profile). But,

> Though ostensibly impartial on the surface, the terms of presenting the issues have been stacked to privilege the interests of capital... The neutrality the news media seek consists not in a bias toward any particular fraction of capital, but in depending on, accepting and promoting the interests of capital in general.

Network coverage created "balance" by portraying miners in battle not against the bosses but against the public, making government intervention seem necessary and inevitable. Miners were shown, but their story was not told, and indeed could not be told within the constraints of journalists' ideas as to what constitutes news, whose ideas are newsworthy, and how information should be presented.[2]

Inculcating Hegemony

This paper analyzes the portrayal of labor in reporting textbooks, and suggests that the persistent pattern of neglect and distorted coverage found by previous scholars may, at least in part, result from the news values, sourcing practices and expectations inculcated through academic journalism programs and reporting textbooks. This study is based upon a thorough examination of nine reporting texts (and accompanying workbooks where offered), documenting every reference to labor and unions, its context and nature. In addition, three advanced reporting texts were examined to see if the anti-labor biases present in most basic reporting texts persisted.

Textbooks of all sorts have come under vigorous criticism in recent years. Michael Schudson notes that textbooks have been attacked for reinforcing capitalism, sexism, racism and classism, and conversely for preaching secular humanism. Others complain that they are boring. "Everything is homogenized in them, even diversity." Regardless of their many failings, Schudson suggests, textbooks remain deeply political instruments which help shape our culture and our polity.[3] While reporting

textbooks have received less scrutiny than other textbooks, they have not escaped criticism. As Linda Steiner notes, "Taken collectively, journalism textbooks document what has been described and prescribed to students... what is news or newsworthy and how to report news."[13] Textbooks inculcate values--an ideology of news--which must inevitably affect our students' performance as journalists, their sense of what is news, whose perspectives are important, and which stories should be told.

Running Up Against "News Values"

The labor movement's difficulties securing the type of news coverage it believes it deserves are not accidental--they are deeply rooted in the patterns of thinking taught in journalism programs and enforced in news organizations. Textbooks rarely suggest seeking news or comment from labor leaders or union members, except in the context of business reporting (and then labor is usually buried in a long list of supplemental sources), even for stories in which unions would be deeply involved such as a mine disaster, an on-the-job death, or Greyhound's bankruptcy filing in the midst of a strike by drivers and maintenance workers.[14]

To judge from these textbooks, the labor movement is simply not important--unlike businessmen, local politicians and police, it does not meet "official" criteria for newsworthiness. Traditional newsworthiness criteria such as Impact easily feed into efforts by business and government to portray labor struggles and concerns as being against the public interest, by, for example, focussing on bus passengers stranded by a strike rather than the conditions and issues which led workers to strike in the first place. Thus, in 1986 the New York Times began its coverage of a strike by AT&T workers with an article assuring telephone customers that they would experience no interruption in service.[15] And few workers can hope for the sort of Prominence afforded to government officials, celebrities and corporate officials. Labor leaders who attain prominence generally do so through a process of demonization (e.g. John L. Lewis or Jimmy Hoffa) that renders their pronoucements instantly suspect, and which leads to coverage that in no way reflects the needs and interests of the labor movement.

Labor, by and large, gets in the news only when it is embroiled in Conflict. Even then the resulting coverage rarely captures workers' perspectives; reporters "balance" their stories, reporting them not as a struggle between Labor and Capital but between Big Labor and the inconvenienced Public.

One journalism textbook mentions labor only three times: a 1-sentence mention, in a discussion of the role news media play in society, that some media workers "became unionized, usually under the International Typographical Union"; a listing for the I.T.U. in the book's glossary (which ignores its affiliation to the Communication Workers of America); the I.T.U. also appears in the book's index. No other unions are mentioned--not as news sources, not in story examples--although in fairness this textbook offers only the most cursory treatment of news gathering.[16] Another textbook, aimed for the increasingly popular writing across the media market, mentions labor only once--a broadcast news writing example about a strike against General Motors.[17]

The handful of reporting textbooks that discuss working conditions make no mention of unions

Table I

References to Labor in Reporting Textbooks:

	# References	Portrayal
Berner	2	Absent
Fedler	3	Negative
Itule and Anderson	6	Negative
Izard, Culbertson...	7	Negative
Killenberg	3	Mixed
Lanson and Stephens	20	Positive
Lovell	2	Absent
Mencher	17	Mixed
The Missouri Group	6	Negative
Rich	4	Insufficient Data
Schulte and Dufresne	13	Negative
Stovall	1	Absent

Each mention is a single reference, regardless of length. Workbooks are included in totals. Index listings are not included.
Characterization of Portrayal is necessarily impressionistic. In general, books that characterize unions primarily as special interest groups or as engaged in strikes (without qualifying detail) are characterized as negative, those that represent a variety of union efforts as positive.

in this context. While Fedler acknowledges that journalists receive "disgraceful" salaries and face real health risks, such as Carpal Tunnel Syndrome, newspaper unions are not mentioned as a possible solution to these problems, nor is the fact that unionized journalists receive substantially higher salaries than their unorganized counterparts acknowledged. Instead, The Newspaper Guild is discussed only in the context of Fedler's concern that the union's endorsement of McGovern's 1972 presidential bid might have presented Guild members with a potential conflict of interest in covering the election.[18] Similarly, there is no mention of unions, pay or working conditions in Rich's chapter on media jobs. Mencher lists median and starting salaries and warns that "no one enters journalism to get rich" (no exception for publishers and owners is suggested, even though newspapering remains a highly profitable industry); newspaper unions go unmentioned.[19]

Itule and Anderson note that journalists are expected to work long hours, but mention the Newspaper Guild only in the Glossary (under G) at the back of their textbook. Unions appear only fleetingly in this book--as part of background information on F. Lee Bailey, in an account of a journalist diverted from covering a breaking police beat story because he is covering contract negotiations, as a source of public relations practitioners who can answer questions on unions (why such questions might arise is never specified), and implicitly (via strikes) as one of the unpleasantries invading sports pages, alongside drug investigations, antitrust suits, and such.[20]

While Izard, Culbertson and Lambert editorially decry the over-emphasis on strikes in newspapers' labor coverage, calling for a more balanced and informed approach to covering labor-management relations, most of their examples of coverage involving unions refer to strikes. They, too, see The Newspaper Guild as a potential problem:

> Covering labor-management relations raises a question of conflict of interest. Many journalists are members of the Newspaper Guild, a union affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Can a union member objectively cover labor-management relations?[21]

Somehow, the fact that many reporters choose not to belong, or are prevented by their employers from

belonging, to the Guild or another union does not raise similar concerns for their objectivity. Nor does publishers' membership in local Chambers of Commerce and similar institutions seem to raise conflict-of-interest questions.

Nor are unions presented as reliable sources even for information on their members' wages and working conditions. A leading reporting textbook uses a press release from a teachers' union (complaining that teachers are paid less than dog catchers) to illustrate the problems of relying on news releases. The authors immediately follow the text of the release with a deconstruction in which they challenge every factual assertion and interpretation contained in the release before offering a sample article which in its own way is every bit as biased (albeit in a sharply different direction) as the press release they critique.[22]

In what contexts do unions appear? Fedler uses the National Education Association as the backdrop to an example of speech coverage, while Cesar Chavez's name appears on a list of possible obituary subjects. However, unions are absent from his examples of a coal mine disaster, a "teacher of the year" resigning because his salary is inadequate to support his family, and an industrial accident killing 51 construction workers (all situations likely to involve union workers in real life). The United Mine Workers' absence from the coal mine disaster story (from which Fedler excerpts a few paragraphs from a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* article) is particularly striking, given the extensive coverage the *Post-Dispatch* gave to the union's reaction (which had written state officials warning that a disaster was imminent, and called a national strike to protest safety conditions in the explosion's aftermath).[23] No unions appear in the mock City Directory appended to the text, though a Greenpeace district director and a janitor for a VFW post are listed. And while Fedler suggests doing feature stories on local businessmen (sic) and business clubs, he proposes no such coverage of workers or their unions.[24]

Unions appear only fleetingly in Rich's new textbook as well: Cesar Chavez gives a speech, a Communications Workers of America official is quoted in a medical story on the effects of Video Display

Terminals, a potential teachers strike illustrates writing in active voice, a strike against General Motors ends in another writing example. Rich also encourages students to talk to workers to gather information, but not about working conditions.[25]

Melvin Mencher's popular textbook uses several labor stories as examples--but nearly all are drawn from strikes. In his chapter on Story Structure, a section titled "Covering a Strike Threat" walks students through the process of covering a possible public school teachers' strike. The word "threat" appears three times in the sample story; the School Board "offers" a 4 percent raise, while teachers "seek" 8 percent.[26] Unions simply do not appear in several other situations where a union would certainly have been available and appropriate sources: a mining disaster in South Africa, a retired steelworker unable to live on his pension, Food Lion's libel suit against ABC News (its story stemmed from a UFCW campaign against the transnational grocer), the education beat. The chapter on business and economic reporting suggests a list of local story opportunities including store openings, real estate transactions, plant openings and closings, bond offerings and business reports; but not union organizing campaigns, contract settlements, prevailing wage levels or working conditions. However, "If the newspaper or station has no labor reporter, the business reporter covers labor-management relations and the activities of labor unions."[27] Mencher's list of human sources for economic news does include union leaders and working people (on a list dominated by business and government figures), but his reading list contains only business and government publications. The chapter on local government coverage lists public sector unions as "organized bureaucracies" which participate in the political process.

Unions are nearly as absent from the Workbook which accompanies Mencher's text. A list of meetings for students to cover includes government bodies and service clubs (Lions, Kiwanis, etc.), but not labor unions. A checklist on students' biases includes the American Legion, Capitalism, gays and the Ku Klux Klan, but not unions. (This appears in a section headed by a photo of a screaming IAM member over the caption, "Journalists screen their emotions.")[28] A drill on business and labor terms

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includes only two even arguably labor terms, "open shop" and "closed shop."[29] While some assignments suggest talking to labor (about public attitudes toward unions and union strength in the community) and comparing local "open" and "closed" shops on salaries, worker satisfaction, etc., unions and union issues do not figure in a list of sources for covering education topics. And the city directory for Mencher's hypothetical town of "Freeport" includes listings for a Press Club and a Rotary Club, but not for any unions. An appended source list includes three union officers, but lists as many sources from the Chamber of Commerce (along with officers of the Elks Club, the Kiwanis, and other local clubs).

Another popular text, by The Missouri Group, recommends articles on working conditions, upcoming contracts, and union affairs--but gives labor a small fraction of the space devoted to business and government sources for economic news. An AFSCME convention serves as the backdrop to a speech by Nelson Mandela. Strikes and layoffs (unions are not mentioned as a source for the latter, though the example used is a unionized firm) offer story possibilities. But a report on a strike at Inland Steel ends: "Experts agree on one sure result of the strike--steel prices will rise again." And in a sample follow-up story on Greyhound's bankruptcy filing, no thought is given to interviewing the union or striking workers.[30]

Izard, Culbertson and Lambert urge reporters to cultivate a friendly relationship with the "little people" on their beats in order to secure their cooperation and assistance. But when discussing the education beat they urge reporters to attend school board meetings, to "talk frequently with the people who actually are operating the school district... the superintendent of schools and the business manager," and finally to talk to principals and teachers to learn what is going on in specific classrooms. They note that many good feature stories can be developed on teachers, but make no mention of talking with unions--excerpts from an article on efforts to settle a teachers strike are sourced entirely to school officials. In business and economic coverage, they suggest consulting business leaders, government officials and public records (not unions or working people) to feel the pulse of the community's economic life. This

blindness to the labor movement continues even in the Associated Press Style appendix, where they detail how to handle specific companies and churches, but not unions (which appear only twice; a list of acceptable abbreviations includes the AFL-CIO, and Actors Equity is used as an example of proper apostrophe usage).[31]

Students are as likely to encounter members of the Kiwanis or other social clubs in these textbooks as members of labor unions; and far more attention and emphasis is given to covering the activities and views of corporate (and government) officials than to covering the multitudes who keep their enterprises running. Labor appears primarily in chapters on covering business, and then primarily as a source for alternative viewpoints rather than as a force worthy of coverage in its own right.

Advanced reporting textbooks follow similar patterns. Lovell's public affairs reporting textbook barely mentions unions in its chapter on business coverage (union shop is defined in the glossary), instead urging reporters to be careful to avoid the anti-business attitude which allegedly pervades such reporting and suggesting sourcing patterns which rely entirely on corporate officials, financial analysts and government regulators. The chapter on education lists teachers' unions as a special group (like the PTA) whose activities deserve coverage, but otherwise ignores them. Nor do unions figure in the chapters on covering state and local politics.

Schulte & Dufresne's advanced reporting textbook does not mention labor in its chapter on business and consumerism, but does include a separate chapter on covering the workforce. They argue that labor deserves coverage just as business does, but their examples imply a rather distorted image. Their chapter on workforce coverage includes an article (from 1992, when California unions were battling unilateral pay cuts and budget cuts to education and other social services) citing public employee unions as the only named example of "interest groups that are rapidly replacing an alienated citizenry as the effective rulers" of the state of California. Other references to labor focus on "threatened" and wildcat strikes, picket-line violence, organizing defeats, and political lobbying. And Killenberg does not mention

unions at all in his sections on covering education and government. Three paragraphs at the end of his section on "business and economic news" address labor coverage. "Big Labor's day is over," Killenberg proclaims, going on to mention mob corruption and economic decline. But, he warns,

> [T]he demise of union strength and influence should not result in inadequate, stereotypical coverage of labor issues. Labor's image... cannot be reduced to insatiable wage demands and violent strikes.

Killenberg notes the labor movement's role in winning shorter working hours and fighting for safe working conditions. He quotes Michael Parenti's criticism of the media for inadequate coverage, concluding that it is overstated but "reminds business reporters that management's perspective sometimes dominates coverage."[32] Yet labor news is pushed to the margins in Killenberg's textbook--mentioned only in these paragraphs, rather than being integrated into the daily fabric of covering the news.

But while labor is largely absent from most newswriting textbooks, Lanson and Stephens' text gives labor and management equal play--indeed their chapter on economic coverage (referred to in most texts as business coverage, though sometimes consumers also receive billing) is titled "Business and Labor." They note that workers are both less affluent and more numerous than the corporate executives featured in business coverage--and receive far less coverage. Yet the beat is important:

> The labor beat... offers a chance to report on some of the consequences of business and economic decisions. It looks at how people spend their eight or so hours each day on the job, at struggles to organize and protect workers, and at the periodic battles between employers and employees over wages and conditions.[33]

Lanson and Stephens urge reporters to be sure to include labor and consumer voices in their business coverage. They urge labor reporters not to be content with simply covering union leaders--they suggest talking to office workers, store clerks and factory hands to get a "bottoms up" view of labor, whether unionized or not. And they stress the importance of covering union activities such as health plans, community involvement and political efforts. Several examples invite students to familiarize themselves with local business, unionized and non-union workers and their situation. Labor examples are relatively common throughout the text--unions seek a first contract, campaign against unemployment, strike,

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organize, criticize public officials, offer useful perspectives on education issues, push for smaller class sizes and call for better pay.[34] This is a sharp contrast to the other texts, in which students are as likely to encounter a member of the Knights of Columbus or the Veterans of Foreign Wars as a union worker.

Breaching the Wall of Silence

Students carry the blind spot towards labor inculcated in their academic training into newsrooms across the country. Reporters and editors do not look to the labor movement for news--rather they wait for strikes, or include labor in discussions of the "special interests" said to dominate the political system. While the labor movement has long been concerned with negative coverage, it has dramatically increased efforts to improve its public image over the last decade. The AFL-CIO's Committee on the Evolution of Work concluded that unions needed to address their image in news reports:

> Too often, only "bad" news about organized labor gets publicized; successes are ignored, and efforts made by unions to further the interests of workers and the general public go unnoticed. .... Most non-union workers obtain their information about unions from the media. Too often, reporters are uninformed about unions.[35]

They recommended that unions respond with outreach programs in the schools, public relations and advertising campaigns (notably the "Union Yes" campaign). Several unions have hired public relations professionals to take charge of their efforts. The International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, for example, sends press releases over the PR Newswire and to selected regional and local media. The union sponsors a running team, tries to secure speaking engagements for its officers, and pays to be listed in the Washington Journalism Review's list of selected news sources as part of its efforts to gain greater awareness of the union's existence and to counter perceptions that rail workers cause accidents.[36]

"The media generally covers railroad unions only when something hot comes up... drug testing, train accidents, that sort of thing," says B.L.E. public relations director Steve Fitzgerald. "A lot of the time we're in a damage-control mode." "When something goes wrong, the first inclination is to suspect the person operating the train." Fitzgerald notes that the media often raise questions about engineers and

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other rail workers in the wake of accidents, but rarely follows through to report the National Transport Safety Board final findings. "The media are not interested in the fact that most workers to date tested negative for drugs, they're only interested in positive tests. Positive news tends to be normal, so it tends not to be as relevant." So the B.L.E. promotes the notion that passengers, rail workers and the general public share a common concern for safety and pushes for "objective reporting of trends on safety" as part of its campaign to persuade the public that engineers are the victims of unsafe conditions, not their cause.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees operates a broadcast-quality TV studio and a microwave satellite uplink at its Washington D.C. headquarters, giving it the possibility of hosting national teleconferences and sending same-day video news releases to television stations across the country. A.F.S.C.M.E. also retains an advertising agency to produce local and national television spots to build public recognition, defend the concept of public service work and criticize government policies that affect its members adversely.[37] And the Laborers' International Union is one of several national unions distributing television programming to cable and broadcast stations across the country.[38]

Allen Zack, a public relations professional who heads the United Food and Commercial Workers' publications and media program, sees journalists' background and news values as a major impediment to improving labor coverage:

> Journalists have never been particularly comfortable covering workers. Covering Michael Milken is so much more glamorous than covering the workers whose jobs he's destroyed through junk-bond deals... It is a bias reflected in a value structure that says $10 an hour is too much for a clerk or a packinghouse worker, but too little for a newspaper reporter.

More importantly, though, is the "story bias" of journalists:

> Now the competition is by potential stories for available space. Hence the need for hype... Examine the amount, quality and nature of the coverage of the strikes by mine workers in West Virginia and Siberia. The goals of the strikers were very similar, but coal miners' strikes in the U.S. are old news.... What labor says and does hasn't changed; it is just not covered nationally.[39]

Media newsworthiness criteria and notions of balance often undermine unions' efforts to get their message across. When UFCW meatpackers were locked out of a Nebraska plant in 1986, "the national

news media got bored because there wasn't the violence associated with previous IBP strikes." The union assembled detailed documentation of health and safety problems at the plant, but reporters accepted IBP's media frame that the complaints were inspired by the labor dispute, and played the story accordingly. The story got extensive play only when a Detroit bureau reporter became interested in IBP's non-reporting of injuries because of an earlier case involving Chrysler. When the Los Angeles Times ran his article the union was able to interest other national media in the story. Despite its initial difficulty in getting play for the story, the UFCW was ultimately able to sustain it for many months--in part because it was able to provide living, talking "victims" for the television cameras.[40] Ironically, the United Steel Workers had great difficulty securing U.S. media coverage of its struggle against Ravenswood Aluminum, but had far less difficulty placing the story in European newspapers (where Ravenswood's financier lives, and where media see labor as more newsworthy). The union finally resorted to purchasing advertisements to publicize its victory.[41]

While many communications scholars have contributed to the scholarly literature documenting patterns of media coverage that largely exclude labor movement concerns and perspectives, little attention has been paid to the ways in which journalism educators re-produce this invisibility. In recent decades, textbook authors have striven to remove sexist language and to address issues of cultural sensitivity. But, whether reflecting the decline in labor coverage in newspapers generally or their own biases, textbooks have largely excluded the vast majority of the population--those who must work for a living--from their areas of concern and attention. Workers and their unions exist only on the margins of most reporting textbooks. That reporters trained in this way ignore labor concerns and perspectives in their own reporting should not surprise us.

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Local Labor Movement, 1873 to 1879," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1936; Nathaniel Hong, "They Hang Editors, Don't They? Free Speech and Free Press Issues in the Haymarket Case, 1886," unpublished paper presented at American Journalism Historians Association, 1990; Richard Digby-Junger, "'Protect the Laborer': Henry Demarest Lloyd and Gilded Age Labor Reporting, 1878-1902," unpublished paper presented at American Journalism Historians Association, 1990; Chicago Chronicle, "March to Red Flag," May 20 1907, p. 1; Chicago American, "Starving Strikers in Frenzy," Aug. 11 1911, p. 1.

2. See, e.g., Dick Hoerder, "Class Struggle in and by the New York Times: A Documentation," Englisch-Amerikanische Studien 5, 1983, pp. 437-45.

3. Upton Sinclair, The Brass Check, Pasadena, no date, p. 346.

4. Jean Douglas, "The Treatment of Labor in the Contemporary American Press, And its Effect on Public Opinion," unpublished M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1947, pp. 7, 30.

5. Albert J. Zack, "The Press Bias on Labor," American Federationist 84(10), 1977, pp. 1-7. The Allen Zack cited below is Albert's son.

6. Jerry Rollings, "Mass Communications and The American Worker," The Critical Communications Review I: Labor, The Working Class, and the Media, Norwood NJ, 1983, pp. 131-52. See, also, Robert Kalaski, "TV's Unreal World of Work," American Federationist 87(12), 1980, pp. 16-21. Kalaski, who headed the Machinists' communications department at the time, is president of the International Labor Communications Association. He expands upon his earlier article in "The Media Mirror: What Do Working People See?" in: Sam Pizzigati and Fred Solowey (eds.), The New Labor Press: Journalism for a Changing Union Movement, Ithaca NY, 1992.

7. UAW Ammo, "A Worker's Guide To The Media," vol. 25(8), 1987, esp. pp. 6-7.

8. William J. Puette, Through Jaundiced Eyes: How the Media View Organized Labor, Ithaca NY, 1992. For a critical appraisal see my review in Libertarian Labor Review 14, Winter 1992-93, pp. 32-33.

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1987, pp. 1-20; Klaus Jensen, "News as Ideology: Economic Statistics and Political Ritual in Television Network News," Journal of Communication, Winter 1987, pp. 8-27; Paul Hartmann, "News and public perceptions of industrial relations," in Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (eds.), The manufacture of news, Beverly Hills 1981; Robert Goldman and Arvind Rajagopal, Managing Hegemony: Television News Coverage of Industrial Conflict, Norwood, 1991; Robert Kalaski, "TV's Unreal World of Work," American Federationist 87(12), 1980, pp. 16-21.

10. Tasini, op cit.

11. Goldman and Rajagopal, Mapping Hegemony, p. 177.

12. Michael Schudson, "Textbook Politics." Journal of Communication 44(1), Winter 1994.

13. Linda Steiner, "Construction of Gender in Newsreporting Textbooks: 1890-1990." Journalism Monographs 135, October 1992, p. 1.

14. Fred Fedler, Reporting for the Print Media Fifth Edition, Ft. Worth TX, 1993, pp. 733-34; Bruce Itule and Douglas Anderson, News Writing and Reporting for Today's Media Second Edition, New York, 1991, pp. 252-53; The Missouri Group, News Reporting & Writing, p. 279. Fedler discusses covering business and occupations without any mention of unions, and discusses working conditions in newsrooms for several pages without mentioning The Newspaper Guild. Itule and Anderson do suggest contacting unions for perspectives on business and consumer news, and in their second edition discussed in some depth (pp. 543-45) an Arts beat story that relied fairly heavily on union sources (this material is missing from the third edition). The Missouri Group briefly mentions labor leaders as a useful source "for the other side of many business stories and for pieces on working conditions..." (p. 343)

Mitchell Stephens and Gerald Lanson (Writing & Reporting The News, New York 1994) have a chapter entitled "Business and Labor" which gives substantial attention to unions as news makers and sources. See Table II for a list of textbooks used for this study.

15. Jo-Ann Mort, "The Vanishing Labor Beat," The Nation, Nov. 21 1987, p. 590.

16. R. Thomas Berner, The Process of Writing News. Boston, 1992, pp. 11, 305.

17. James G. Stovall, Writing for the Mass Media, Englewood Cliffs NJ, 1994, p. 159.

18. Fred Fedler, pp. 404-13, 484. For a useful compilation of material on newspaper unions and their impact on wages and working conditions, see Walter Brasch, editor, With Just Cause:

Unionization of the American Journalist. Lanham, MD, 1991.

19. Melvin Mencher, News Reporting and Writing, Madison, 1994, p. xviii.

20. Itule & Anderson, pp. 5, 310-11, 415, 478, 536, 684. There is also a reference on page 148 to an anticipated strike settlement in an example of proper attribution.

21. Izard, Culbertson , p. 241.

22. The Missouri Group, News Reporting & Writing Fourth edition, New York, 1992, pp. 192-96. The final article makes much of the fact that there is intense competition for the public sector jobs the press release used for comparative purposes--presumably we are to believe that teachers are hired off the streets, regardless of qualifications.

23. AP, "U.S. Mine Safety Code Violated at Centralia Shaft," March 26 1947, pp. 1, 6 (UMW criticizes officials); Staff Correspondent, "Miners Asked State to Enforce Laws at Shaft, 'Save Our Lives,'" March 27 1947, pp. 1, 8 (UMW local officials wrote letter, three of four signers died in explosion); AP, "Lewis Charges Negligence by Krug 'Murdered' Miners," March 28 1947, pp. 1, 17 (testifying before Senate committee); AP, "UMW Asks 400,000 to Cease Work April 1 to Easter Morning," March 29 1947, pp. 1, 7 (to protest unsafe conditions); George Hall, "Lewis Calls Out 400,000 Miners for 6 Days' Mourning," March 30 1947, pp. 1, 4; AP, "Miners Solidly Support Lewis Mourning Order," 3/30/47, p. 1 (will support strike); Staff Correspondent, "'Black Monday in Mine Area as Towns Mourn for 111 Dead in Blast," March 31 1947, p. 1 (Illinois UMW strikes, will not return until assured mines safe); AP, "U.S. Closes 518 Mines Believed Unsafe," April 3 1947, pp. 1, 6 (mines will not reopen until union or inspector agrees they are safe); Roy Harris, "Medill's Own Committee Held Mine Was Unsafe," 4/3/47, pp. 1, 8 (cites union letter sent before disaster warning of uinsafe conditions); Roy Harris, "Gov. Green's Aid (sic) Warned Medill on Miner's Plea," April 4 1947, pp. 1, 6; AP, "Lewis Asks U.S. Ro Close All But Two of Soft Coal Mines in Country," April 5 1957, pp. 1, 7 (UMW demands safety inspections before reopening); Harry Wilensky, "'We're Going to Have an Explosion,' Miner Who Was Killed Told Wife," 4/5/47, pp. 1, 6; AP, "Krug Rejects Lewis Demand on Mine Closing; Opening in Doubt," April 6 1947, pp. 1, 6 (UMW may strike); Washington Correspondent, "Shutdown Backs Lewis Demand to Inspect Shafts Before Opening," April 7 1947, pp. 1, 6 (UMW strikes); Harry Wilensky, "Scanlan Orders Mine Shut After 140 Men Quit in Safety Protest," April 8 1947, p. 1 (Progressive Mine Workers strike mine near Centralia, Scanlan is mine inspector whose warnings of hazards in the Centralia mine were ignored); Roy Harris, "'Save Our Lives' Plea Miners Sent Green Never Got to Mining Board," April 9 1947, p. 1 (despite promise to union of action); UP, "Lewis Instructs District Aids (sic) to Reopen Pits

They Regard as Safe," April 13 1947, p. 1; all from *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. It is difficult to see how Fedler managed to overlook the union's central role in this story; except as a byproduct of the systematic blindness being inculcated in our students.

24. Fedler, pp. 182, 578, 15, 142, 733-36.

25. Carole Rich, Writing and Reporting News, Belmont CA, 1994, pp. 182, 233, 308-09. Unions do not appear in the accompanying workbook, though an obituary example does involve a Kiwanis official.

26. Mencher, pp. 108-09.

27. Mencher, p. 453.

28. Melvin Mencher, Workbook for News Reporting and Writing, Madison, 1994, p. 149.

29. Mencher, Workbook, pp. 220-21.

30. The Missouri Group, News Reporting & Writing, New York, 1992, pp. 336, 343-45, 159, 457, 279.

31. Ralph Izard, Hugh Culbertson and Donald Lambert: Fundamentals of News Reporting, Dubuque IA, 1994, pp. 218, 228-29, 373, 423, 425.

32. George Killenberg, Public Affairs Reporting: Covering The News in the Information Age, New York 1992, pp. 293-94.

33. Gerald Lanson and Mitchell Stephens, Writing & Reporting the News, Fort Worth TX, 1994, p. 387.

34. Lanson and Stephens, pp. 38, 61, 137, 150, 159-60, 219, 267-68, 371, 382, 402-04.

35. AFL-CIO Committee on the Evolution of Work, "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions," Washington DC, 1985, pp. 20-22.

36. Quotes and information about the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' communications efforts are taken from an August 17 1989 interview with B.L.E. public relations director Steve Fitzgerald.

37. Glass, "Labor and New Media Technology," pp. 136-37.

38. Letter from Carl Fillichio, Laborers' International Union, to Fred Carroll, March 24 1992, published in Uppnet News 4(2), 1992.

39. Personal communication from Allen Zack, UFCW director of Publications and Media, to author, Aug. 25 1989.

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40. Zack, op cit.

41. Remarks of USWA president Lynn Williams July 7 1992 at the 1892 Homestead Strike Centennial symposium, taken from page 155 of a transcript available from the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

Table II
Reporting Textbooks Consulted:

R. Thomas Berner: The Process of Writing News. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1992.

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Gerald Lanson and Mitchell Stephens: Writing & Reporting the News (Second Edition). Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace, 1994.

Ronald P. Lovell: Reporting Public Affairs: Problems & Solutions (Second Edition). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1993.

Melvin Mencher: News Reporting and Writing (Sixth Edition). Madison, WI: Brown & Benchmark, 1994.
--- Workbook for News Reporting and Writing (Sixth Edition). Madison, WI: Brown & Benchmark, 1994.

The Missouri Group (Brian S. Brooks, George Kennedy, Daryl R. Moen and Don Ranly): News Reporting & Writing (Fourth Edition). New York, NY: St. Martin's, 1992.

Carole Rich: Writing and Reporting News: A Coaching Method. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1994.
--- Workbook for Writing and Reporting News: A Coaching Method. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1994.

Henry H. Schulte and Marcel P. Dufresne: Getting the Story: An Advanced Reporting Guide to Beats, Records and Sources. New York: Macmillan College Publishing, 1994.

James Glen Stovall: Writing for the Mass Media (Third Edition). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994.